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Central Intelligence Agency

Washington, D.C. 20505

DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

24 June 1986

Junejo and Zia: Uneasy Partners in Democracy [redacted] 25X1

Summary

Since Pakistan's return to civilian rule on 30 December 1985, Prime Minister Junejo and President Zia have been working out an arrangement for sharing power. Publicly, the two men give the appearance of working together, but there have been reports of friction between the two, particularly over assignments of senior personnel. Zia and Junejo will avoid open conflict in order to deny the political opposition a target for criticism. Zia has the legal authority as President and the power as Army Chief of Staff to remove Junejo from office, and, should Zia do so, we believe the military would support him. [redacted] 25X1

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Since the lifting of martial law, Prime Minister Mohammed Khan Junejo and President Zia-ul-Haq have become a shaky political duet--respectively the symbol and the protector of Pakistan's fledgling democracy--feeling their way toward a compromise for power sharing. The political arrangement approved by the National Assembly last November gave more power to the Prime Minister than Zia originally envisioned. Nevertheless, Zia still controls military and security matters, and the Prime Minister's role in these areas remains limited. Junejo is constitutionally empowered only to advise the President on the appointment of provincial governors and, should he conclude that the parliament cannot conduct its business in accordance with the Constitution, to ask the President to dissolve it. [redacted] 25X1

This memorandum was prepared by [redacted] Office of Leadership Analysis, and [redacted] Office of Near Eastern and South Asian Analysis. Comments and questions should be directed to Chief, South Asia Division [redacted] or Chief, Asia/Near East Division, LDA [redacted]

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Junejo: Promoting an Image of Legitimacy

Despite these legal limits on his power, the independent-minded Junejo considers himself the legitimate head of a popularly mandated government, although he was handpicked by Zia for the post. Diplomatic reporting indicates he has moved quickly to assume more than a ceremonial role--with Zia's acquiesence--and has become more involved in domestic policy formulation than most Western political observers expected.

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Besides appointing a Cabinet composed mostly of his cronies, Junejo has begun to build a personal power base by co-opting provincial elites into the Pakistan Muslim League, which he heads, and has tried to cultivate support in the military. 25X1
almost a year ago Junejo indicated his desire to extend his influence over 25X1
the military by controlling assignments and retirements. Junejo calculates that grateful junior officers--frustrated that their careers have been stalled by the slow retirement of senior officers during the nearly nine years of martial law--will transfer loyalty to the Prime Minister. Junejo has had minor success; he blocked 25X1
Zia's appointment of senior officers to coveted ambassadorial posts in February 1986 and named the new Navy Chief of Staff over Zia's candidate. 25X1

We believe Junejo sees Zia's control of the security apparatus as an important factor preserving the President's strong position and thus a major obstacle to Junejo's advancement. 25X1
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Zia: Pakistan's Defender

For his part, Zia has deferred to Junejo in most day-to-day business of the government, according to reporting from the US Embassy in Islamabad. He has denied rumors of a rift with Junejo over sharing power, recently telling a Western reporter that he had "shed all of his responsibilities." 25X1
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We believe that despite the devolution of some powers to Junejo, Zia intends to continue to guide policy and hopes to ensure that the military oversees policy formation through the Defense Cabinet Committee (DCC). 25X1
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The Ministers of Interior and Foreign Affairs, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Director of Intelligence, and the three service chiefs--including Zia as Army Chief of Staff--sit on the committee, which decides all defense and internal security matters. 25X1
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Outlook

In our view, the boundaries of Junejo's authority with Zia have not been fully delineated, and disagreements between them over sharing power are likely to grow as

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Junejo continues to test the limits of his authority. A likely area of contention will be personnel changes in the military. Junejo probably aims ultimately for Zia's departure as Chief of the Army Staff. 25X1

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As President and Army Chief, however, Zia still retains considerable political power--including the ability to remove Junejo. Should Zia use his authority against Junejo, we believe the military--by all accounts still loyal to Zia--would side with him.

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For the time being, however, both Junejo and Zia are well served by maintaining their political partnership and will strive to prevent a public rift that would discredit the "democratic experiment" and open the field to the opposition. For example, when National Assembly critics recently tried to unseat Junejo--charging that he was prohibited from serving in parliament because he broke the law by joining the Pakistan Muslim League before it was registered with the Election Commission--Zia preempted their efforts by retroactively amending the relevant legislation to make Junejo's action legal. In return, we believe Zia expects Junejo to cooperate in presenting a united front to opposition leader Benazir Bhutto, who is trying to isolate Zia from Junejo as well as from the rest of the Army. 25X1

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